Byblos is the earliest of all cities in Syria-Palestine mentioned in Egyptian records as well as in cuneiform documents of Mesopotamia. This famous port city on the Phoenician coast was one of the most important export cities of Lebanon lumber, especially of cedar, and had therefore close connections with Egypt and Assyria-Babylonia in many periods of antiquity. This is the reason that the name of this city occurs frequently in ancient records.

In 1866 F. J. Chabas recognized the name of G·bal (i.e. Byblos) in the place name Kpn (Table I, 22) found in Papyrus Anastasi I.¹ Of all Syro-Palestinian place names none has been better authenticated than that of Byblos, for it occurs not only in hieroglyphic and hieratic records of Egypt for almost 2000 years but also in hieroglyphic inscriptions discovered in the ruins of ancient Byblos.

The earliest occurrence of the city’s name comes from the lintel of a false door of a 4th Dynasty mastaba at Giza opened in 1953.² Its spelling Kbn (Table I, 1) agrees with that dominating throughout the Old Kingdom period in records coming from Egypt as well as from Byblos itself. During the 6th Dynasty Kbn (Table I, 2, 3) is mentioned in the tomb inscription of Khui of Aswan as a place to which he together

² J. Leclant, “Fouilles et travaux en Égypte, 1952-1953,” *Orientalia*, XXIII (1954), 73. See Table I for the actual spelling in hieroglyphs of this name in its various forms found in other inscriptions and texts as referred to in this article.
with another companion had traveled, and occurs also on a bas relief from Byblos.

In a text from this same dynasty—the inscription of Pepi-nakht—occurs also for the first time the term "Byblos-ships," sea-faring vessels used for the transport of lumber. In this text as well as in a Wadi Hammamat inscription of the 11th Dynasty the spelling for such ships is Kbn.t. From the 18th Dynasty on the spelling of these ships in harmony with that used for the city's name is Kpn.t. P. Montet believes that the name "Byblos-ships" was applied to vessels which had either been constructed in Byblos or elsewhere of material imported from that city. The correctness of this view has been questioned by T. Säve-Söderbergh and cannot be demonstrated, yet there can be no doubt that the Byblos-ships got their name from the city of Byblos. This name may have merely been given to any large sea-going vessels, because the most important overseas place with which trading was carried on was Byblos.

During the 12th Dynasty a change took place in the spelling of the Egyptian name of Byblos. On two 12th Dynasty Coffin Texts the former spelling Kbn (Table I, 4, 5) still prevails, and it is at the same time also found as an element.

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4 Pierre Montet, Byblos et L'Égypte (Paris, 1928), pp. 35-37, Pls. XXIV, XXVIII.
6 For the various spellings of the "Byblos-ships" see Erman and Grapow, Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache, V, 118, and the references given there.
in two occurrences of the personal name \textit{Nb.t-Kbny} (Table II, 1, 2). However, during that same dynasty the \textit{b} in \textit{Kbn} was replaced by \textit{p}, and from now on \textit{Kpn} was quite regularly spelled with the \textit{k3p}-sign. This new spelling with the \textit{k3p}-sign is encountered first in the B manuscript of the Story of Sinuhe which dates from the late 12th Dynasty and then also in the R manuscript (Table I, 9, 10)\textsuperscript{11} which may be slightly later. Also in a letter from Kahun this new spelling is found (Table I, 13),\textsuperscript{12} and as part of the personal name \textit{Nb.t-Kpny} (Table II, 4-6) which occurs in several Middle Kingdom inscriptions. They come most probably from the latter part of the 12th Dynasty, although it is not possible to date them accurately.\textsuperscript{13} In this connection it is of special interest to find a hybrid spelling of the name \textit{Nb.t-Kpny} (Table II, 3) on a 12th-Dynasty stele in the British Museum. On this stele the \textit{k3p}-sign is followed by the hieroglyph \textit{b}.\textsuperscript{14} This evidence shows clearly that the transition from \textit{Kbn} to \textit{Kpn} took place during the 12th Dynasty.

This fact is of great importance for the dating of the two series of Execration Texts published by Sethe\textsuperscript{15} and Posener.\textsuperscript{16} Although all scholars agree that they were written during the Middle Kingdom, no agreement has been accomplished

\textsuperscript{10} H. O. Lange, and H. Schäfer, \textit{Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches} (4 vols.; Berlin, 1902-1925), I, 244: Ahmed Bey Kamal, "Fouilles à Dara et à Qoçéir el-Amarna," \textit{ASAE}, XIII (1912), 135. See Table II for the actual spelling in hieroglyphs of these names and others mentioned in this article.

\textsuperscript{11} Sinuhe B manuscript line 29; R manuscript line 53.


\textsuperscript{13} A. Erman, "Zur ägyptischen Religion," \textit{ZÄS}, XLII (1905), 109; Lange and Schäfer, \textit{op. cit.}, II, 305.

\textsuperscript{14} \textit{Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum}, III (London, 1912), 6, Pl. VIII.


\textsuperscript{16} G. Posener, \textit{Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie} (Brussels, 1940).
as to their exact dating, for which reason they have been dated by scholars variously from the 21st to the 18th century B.C.\textsuperscript{17} Leaving aside the various arguments advanced in favor of an early or late date for these texts, it may be pointed out in this connection, that Byblos occurs several times in both series of texts. The spelling $Kbn$ occurs twice in Sethe's texts (Table I, 6) and is found once in Posener's texts (Table I, 7). However, the spelling $Kpn$ is found four times in Sethe's texts (Table I, 11), and is the common form in the texts published by Posener (Table I, 12). Of special interest is a hybrid spelling found once in Posener's texts, in which the $n$ of the name spelled $Kbn$ is followed by the $k\delta p$-sign (Table I, 8).\textsuperscript{18}

In surveying the Middle Kingdom evidence it is of importance to note that in the religious Coffin Texts of the 12th Dynasty the name of Byblos is still spelled with the old $b$, while in the magical Exeation Texts the newer spelling with $p$ prevails, although rare writings with $b$ and a hybrid form show that these texts have their roots in older ages. This confirms the observation frequently made with regard to religious and magical texts that they show a tendency to continue archaic forms and an old orthography much longer than secular texts. This evidence seems to indicate that the Exeation Texts belong in the late 12th Dynasty or in the early 13th Dynasty. For various reasons combined with the evidence here presented I am, therefore, inclined to place both series of texts toward the end of the 12th Dynasty with Posener's texts following those of Sethe.

From the Second Intermediate Period come four occurrences of the name of Byblos ($Kpn$) written on objects found in the excavations of that city, namely one on a sickle sword of Prince $\textit{Y}\text{psmwb}$, one on a relief of Prince 'Intn, and two on

\textsuperscript{17} See W. F. Albright, "The Land of Damascus Between 1850 and 1750 B.C.," \textit{BASOR}, No. 83 (Oct. 1941), 32-33.

\textsuperscript{18} Sethe, \textit{Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten}, p. 55; Posener, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 94.
scarabs of 'Intn (Table I, 14-16). The name occurs also in the Papyrus Ebers written during the Second Intermediate Period (Table I, 17).

In New Kingdom texts Byblos (Kpn) occurs on the Gebel Barkal Stele of Thutmose III (Table I, 19), on a stele of Wsr-St.t, an officer of Amenhotep II (Table I, 20) and in an Asiatic list of Amenhotep III (Table I, 21). It is also found in the satirical letter of the Papyrus Anastasi I of the 19th Dynasty (Table I, 22) in the Wen-Amon story of the 21st Dynasty (Table I, 23-24) and in the Onomasticon of Amenope which comes either from the 21st or the 22d Dynasty (Table I, 25). Furthermore, the element Kpn occurs occasionally in personal names during the New Kingdom period (Table II, 7-9).

In cuneiform records Byblos is mentioned first in two Drēhem texts of the 3d Dynasty of Ur, of which one was recently published by E. Sollberger, while the other had already been published earlier by N. Schneider although the

21 G. A. Reisner and M. B. Reisner, "Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal," ZÄS, LXIX (1933), 29, line 11. Literally, "the Lady (= goddess) of Byblos," whom the Egyptians equated with their Hat-Hor; her name stands here for the city. The name Byblos occurs probably also in the Leiden Papyrus I 344 which contains the admonitions of Ipu-wer, though only half of the name is preserved (Table I, 18), Alan H. Gardiner, The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage (Leipzig, 1909), pp. 32-33.
22 Wolfgang Helck, "Eine Stele des Vizekönigs Wsr-St.t," JNES, XIV (1955), 23. It is of interest to note that in this 18th-Dynasty text the early b turns up in the name of Byblos just as in the personal name Nb.t-Kbny, which comes approximately from the same time (Table II, 7).
24 Papyrus Anastasi I, col. 20, lines 7 and 21.
25 Wen-Amon, col. 2, line 82; col. 3, line 12.
26 Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica (London, 1947), I, 150*.
27 See Table II.
name was not recognized by him. In both texts the city is spelled Ku-ub-la. In all later cuneiform records—the Mari texts of the 18th century B.C., the Amarna Letters of the 14th century B.C., the Assyrian texts from Tiglath-pileser I down to Ashurbanipal, and a Babylonian text from the time of Nebuchadnezzar II—the spelling is Gublu, Gubal or Gubla. Following W. F. Albright’s short chronology the Ur III texts were written between c. 2070-1960 B.C. thus coinciding with the early Middle Kingdom Period (Dynasties XI-XII) in Egypt. In this period the name of Byblos was spelled Kbn in Egypt, which closely agrees with the spelling Kubla of the Drēhem texts. That two centuries later and henceforth the name was written in cuneiform sources with a g, and in Egypt, beginning with the late 19th century B.C., regularly with the k3p-sign seems to indicate that a change in pronunciation of that name had taken place in the early second millennium B.C. I will not suggest that the k-sound in the k3p-sign is closer to g than to k, for which otherwise no evidence exists, but the Egyptian scribes of the late Middle Kingdom must have felt that the old spelling Kbn did no longer correspond to the real pronunciation of the name for which reason they initiated the orthographic changes which have already been discussed.

In Phoenician inscriptions written in alphabetic script the name of Byblos occurs first on the Ahiram Sarcophagus of the 10th century B.C. and then in several other inscriptions found at Byblos. The name, written Gbl, was probably pronounced gubl, as is attested by the Assyrian transliterations

29 In Amarna Letter 67, line 14, the city’s name occurs as Kubla, which may be a scribal error, for the name is found numerous times as Gubla in other Amarna Letters.
31 The references are conveniently collected in Zellig S. Harris, A Grammar of the Phoenician Language (New Haven, Conn., 1936), P. 93. For the texts see Albright, “The Phoenician Inscriptions of the Tenth Century B.C. from Byblos”, JAOS, LXVII (1947), 153-160.
and by the Onomasticon of Eusebius in which the name is spelled Γοβελ.\(^{32}\) In the Hebrew Bible (Eze 27:9) the spelling בבל corresponds to that regularly found in Phoenician alphabetic inscriptions. Cyrus H. Gordon has pointed out that the Massoretic pointing ג'בל is not an error, but simply the Aramaic form of a Hebrew גובל.\(^{33}\)

How the Greeks changing the initial g to b obtained the form Byblos has been discussed by Albright, and does not need to be repeated here.\(^{34}\)

Postscript

Since this article was written the hieroglyphic text of an obelisk found by Dunand in the Obelisk-Temple at Byblos has been published by Montet in Kémi, 16 (1962), 96. In Dunand’s publication of plates (Fouilles de Byblos, II [Paris, 1950-1958], Plate XXXII: 2) the photograph was not clear enough to read the text, though one could suspect from Dunand’s transliteration given on p. 818 of his text volume that the name of Byblos was written with the קס-ב sign. Montet’s article confirms this assumption. It shows that the spelling of קס on the obelisk is identical to that found on the sickle-sword of יבשתיב of Byblos which is to be dated in the early 13th Dynasty (Table I, 14).

This spelling has an important bearing on the dating of the obelisk. Albright has suggested a date of about 2000 BC for this inscription. He does it on the basis of the orthography of the personal names found in the text, and because of the occurrence of the element Harsaphes in the name Ḥršf-Rē, the divine suzerain of the Heracleopolitan kings of the 9th


and 10th Dynasties (*BASOR*, No. 155 [Oct. 1959], 33-34). I believe that this date is too high by at least two hundred years on the basis of the orthography of Byblos. This name was never spelled *Kpn* before the 12th Dynasty, in fact probably not before the end of that dynasty as Table I shows. If the inscription came from the First Intermediate Period or from the early Middle Kingdom we would expect Byblos to be spelled *Kbn* as it was regularly done up to the 12th Dynasty.

### Table I

*Byblos in Egyptian Records*

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<td>25. Dyn. XXI.</td>
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</tr>
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Table II

The Names Nb.t-Kbny and Nb.t-Kpny

| 1. Dyn. XII. | Cairo Stele, No. 20,224 |

SIEGFRIED H. HORN
2. Dyn. XII. Dara Stele


4. Dyn. XII. Louvre Inscr., C 43

5. Dyn. XII. Vienna Inscr., No. 14

6. Dyn. XII. Cairo Stele, No. 20,678

7. Dyn. XVIII. Nurse of S3t-imn

8. New Kingd. Turin Statue, No. 30

9. New Kingd. Turin Stele, No. 166